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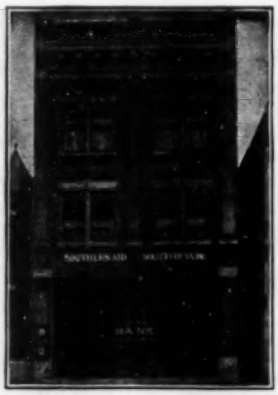

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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY. CONDUCTED BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS; JESSIE REDMON FAUSET, LITERARY EDITOR; AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, BUSINESS MANAGER.

Vol. 25 No. 4 FEBRUARY, 1923 Whole No. 148

COVER Page

Reproduction of a drawing by Louis Portlock.

OPINION

Debit and Credit; At The Hotel Astor; Advertising; At Last The Truth; The Colonel Young Post to Clemenceau; The West Indies.... 151

OUR FUTURE POLITICAL ACTION. A Symposium..... 155

TO A FOREIGN MAID. A Poem. Translated From The French of Oswald Durand by Jessie Fauset 158

AUNT DINAH AND DILSEY DISCUSS THE PROBLEM. A Story. Mary Church Terrell 159

ROAD SONG A Poem. Countee P. Cullen..... 160

NOTES ON THE NEW BOOKS. Alain LeRoy Locke and Jessie Fauset.. 161

THE LOTT CAREY FOREIGN MISSION CONVENTION. Illustrated... 165

THE SHAME OF AMERICA. Illustrated 167

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE 170

THE JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY. Illustrated..... 173

WHEN SUE WEARS RED. A Poem. Langston Hughes..... 174

THE HORIZON. Illustrated 175

THE LOOKING GLASS 181

THE MARCH CRISIS

The March CRISIS will contain an important article on the way in which a great northern city has abolished racial separation in schools and at the same time worked to see that Negro children in the public schools receive proper training and attention.

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MARY McLEOD BETHUNE, - - Principal.

THE CRISIS

Vol. 25. No. 4 FEBRUARY, 1923 Whole No. 148

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

We want 1,000 *friends of* THE CRISIS *to pledge themselves* (1) *to secure four other persons to work with them;* (2) *we want each of these five to secure for us between January* 15*th and February* 15*th, five new subscribers to* THE CRISIS. *Can we count on you?*

Do not give your subscription money to persons whom you do not know and trust. Hold them personally responsible until you receive a receipt from THE CRISIS.

DEBIT AND CREDIT 1922

Debit	Credit
Dyer Bill filibuster	Dyer Bill fight
Charles Young	René Maran
Bert Williams	"The Negro in Chicago."
Maria Baldwin	The New Turks
Liberian Loan	523 bachelors of art — 20 masters of art — 332 professional graduates
Haiti	
Santos Pinto	
Race discrimination in colleges	
Black Star Line	
"Jim Crow" at Lincoln Memorial	
Gandhi in prison	
K. K. K.	
	Books by Johnson, Mrs. Johnson, McKay, Talley, Wood, Woodson, Brawley, Johnsen and Wiener
	Siki
	Mrs. Talbert, 8th Spingarn medalist
	Anti-lynching Crusaders
	Hampton College
	Santo Domingo
	The little Negro theatre
	Arkansas peons
	French and Oberlin
	Du Pont Schools
	Rosenwald & Y. M. C. A. bldgs.
	Negro Art exhibits, Boston & New York
	Poets — Hughes, Cullen, Lee-Newsome and Toomer
	Negro chiefs in France
	N. A. C. W. & Douglass Home
	India persists
	Egypt half free
	Tutankhamen

P. S.—We will gladly explain any of the above items which you do not understand.

AT THE HOTEL ASTOR

A YEAR or more ago in New York City, there was an exposition to show the contributions of the various racial elements to the composite American civilization.

The Negro was invited to take part. Was this right? It was. Anything less would have been intolerable. The Negro exhibit was creditable and appreciated.

This year, "America's Making" sent

to each of the particular groups an invitation "cordially" asking "the honor of your presence at a Carnival and Dance to take place in the Hotel Astor, Friday Evening, October 27, 1922."

The 200 Negroes who contributed to the Exposition each were invited. Was this right? It was the only decent and civilized procedure. One hundred and seventy of the black folk invited staid away. Thirty went and danced and had a cordial, pleasant evening among Americans of English, Scotch, Jewish and Czecho-Slovak blood and a dozen other varieties. Which group of black folk did its duty —the 170 or the 30?

ADVERTISING

MOST colored folk do not yet quite understand modern advertising. They still think of advertising as a species of bribery, hush-money or charity given to newspapers to secure their support or reward their faithfulness or pay their debts.

There is, of course, much of this sort of "advertising" still with us and in high places. But modern advertising of the efficient sort is far beyond this. It is an effort to carry a message to those who ought to get it; to tell people who use soap, about a new, good, cheap soap; to tell people who buy clothes, where they may buy a certain kind.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wishes to pass the Dyer Bill. The colored people were behind them in this to a man. The mass of the whites was indifferent. We wanted to arouse the whites to the enormity—the shame and disgrace of lynching. How could we best do this?

After long consideration and argument, we decided to advertise. But where? Not, most assuredly with our friends;—not with papers whose readers were converted, but we proposed to advertise in those periodicals which reached the largest number of indifferent white readers.

We were not advertising in order to reward our friends or punish our enemies but in order to send our message to those who ought to have it. We therefore picked our advertising media with just one aim in mind: how many people can we reach not familiar with the facts about lynching?

We reached at least five million readers in a day—the greatest single stroke of propaganda ever struck in behalf of justice for the Negro. The Bill was not passed but the effect of this advertisement is beyond estimate. It was copied all over the United States and in Europe, Asia and Africa.

AT LAST THE TRUTH

Paris, 8 Novembre, 1922.

J'AI eu l'occasion de voir à Paris les délégues de l'Association des Noirs et leur ai parlé de la note du *Negro World* qui semble attribuer à leurs démarches auprès de moi l'initiative que j'ai prise, à la séance du 9 septembre dernier, de porter devant l'Assemblée les faits relatifs à la regrettable expédition du Bondelswartz. Les délégues ont reconnu avec la plus grande loyauté qu'il n'a pu y avoir dans ce cas qu'un malentendu: j'avais déjà prononcé mon discours quand le président de la délégation, M. Marke, vint me faire visite à mon hôtel à Genève.

Dantés Bellegarde.

TRANSLATION

I saw the delegates of the Universal Negro Improvement Association in Paris and I spoke to them of the note in the *Negro World* which apparently attributes to their efforts with me, my speech in the Assembly of the League of Nations on September 9,

when I exposed the regrettable Bondelswartz expedition. The delegates frankly admitted that there must have been a misunderstanding since I had already made my speech before the president of the delegation, Mr. Marke, called at my hotel in Geneva.

DANTES BELLEGARDE,
Haitian Minister to France,
Member of the Assembly of
the League of Nations.

THE COLONEL YOUNG POST, 398 AMERICAN LEGION TO CLEMENCEAU

December 13, 1922.

SIR:

We represent the two hundred thousand black men who helped defend France in the Great War. We loaded and unloaded ships; we built roads and railroads; we staggered under tremendous burdens; we repaired and guided automobiles; we carried food and ammunition to the front lines; and in the great decisive battle which broke the Hindenburg line and drove the Germans back to Germany, five American Black Regiments were in the front trenches and one thousand of us were left dead on the field of battle. Our sacrifice was not in vain. We learned to know France. We learned to know a land where color prejudice was unknown; and where even the appeals of our own white American fellow-citizens fell on deaf ears. For this reason, Sir, we welcome you as the foremost representative of that great country; and we pledge to you the sympathy and help of 12,000,000 Negroes in any future crisis, so long as France of the future lives up to the ideals of France of the past.

THE WEST INDIES

ENGLAND has never given political freedom to any but white men. White men in Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand got autonomy for less than the asking. Black men and brown in West Africa and the West Indies after a hundred years are not only deprived of any effective self-government but hitherto have been liable to open or covert punishment if they dare to complain at their slavery. A delegation from the British West African National Congress could not even get audience with the Colonial Secretary last year and the South African natives have had their delegations repeatedly and consistently repulsed, if not insulted.

A movement, however, has arisen in the West Indies which has accomplished a somewhat larger measure of success. T. Albert Marryshow, of Grenada, whom we mentioned in December, began in 1916 a new agitation for representative government. The fire spread to all the West Indies and in 1921 a delegation, headed by Marryshow, was received by the Colonial Office in London, at the same time that the Second Pan-African Congress was in session.

As a result, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies, E. F. L. Wood, and a small delegation visited Jamaica, St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Barbadoes, Grenada, Trinidad, and British Guiana, from December, 1921, to February, 1922, and presented a report to the British Parliament in June, 1922. The report says: "It must also be remembered that this tour was the first of its kind in the long history of the West Indies!" It adds:

"At the present time, with the exception of Jamaica, all these colonies are administered under a system of pure Crown Colony Government—i.e., by a legislature composed of:

(1) An official majority controlled by the Governor and responsible to the Secretary of State, and

(2) An unofficial element nominated by the Governor.

Several reasons combine to make it likely that the common demand for a measure of representative government will in the long run prove irresistible. The wave of democratic sentiment has been powerfully stimu-

lated by the war. Education is rapidly spreading and tending to produce a colored and black intelligentsia of which the members are quick to absorb elements of knowledge requisite for entry into learned professions and return from travel abroad with minds emancipated and enlarged, ready to devote time and energy to propaganda among their own people."

The report favors some yielding to this demand before the concession "has been robbed by delay of most of its usefulness and all of its grace." However, there are drawbacks:

1. The population is not united in interest, descent, or demands,

2. There is no "leisure class,"

3. There is no West Indian federation or movement toward it.

And, finally, and to the everlasting shame of the British Empire which has ruled this part of the world since the days of Cromwell:

4. The West Indians are too ignorant.

"In Dominica, for instance, about 70 per cent. of the population are illiterate, and in Trinidad, where educational standards are probably higher than in any other West Indian colony, the average attendance at school of children of school age is only 56 per cent."

The report, therefore, suggests that democracy in the West Indies shall progress slowly as follows:

1. A minority of elected members in the legislature,

2. A majority composed jointly of elected and nominated members,

3. Possibly some elected members in the Executive Councils.

Jamaica has already passed through these steps and the report apparently does nothing but suggest intricate changes which will prevent any further democratization of Jamaican politics.

All this is but a tiny step, a sop. And yet, as a West Indian writes us:

"The report does not go far enough, but we have gained certain small concessions which, from the point of view of precedent alone, is something good for the time being. The thin edge of a wedge has been inserted .... Here and there in the report points have been made as to illiteracy and immorality, but no remedy has been suggested in the shape of economic relief.

"I have gained much experience and instruction during my stay in New York, and I am firmly of the opinion that the economic emancipation of these islands can only be the work of our colored American brothers. These islands are rich in potential wealth and teem with possibilities. I shall be glad to prepare the West Indies for a reception of a Colored American Mission headed by you to enquire into things for our mutual benefit."

AGAIN, MR. HOWARD

MR. PERRY HOWARD challenges the Editor of THE CRISIS and Mr. James Weldon Johnson to a debate on these propositions:

"1. That I contributed—directly or indirectly—to the defeat of the Dyer Anti-lynching Bill.

"2. That, under the present rules of the Senate, the Republicans could have passed this bill in the face of the Democratic filibuster.

"3. That I have not done as much for the passage of the anti-lynching bill as any man among the twelve millions of our group."

We decline. First, we have never accused Mr. Howard of defeating the Dyer Anti-lynching Bill. THE CRISIS said in plain English: "Of course this letter had no influence whatsoever on the Dyer bill."

Secondly, we do not know whether or not the Senate could have passed the Dyer Anti-lynching Bill in spite of the filibuster. We do know that it could have tried; and we have simply to add that if a party with an overwhelming majority in both houses of Congress, and the Executive, cannot pass legislation, who can? And why argue about it?

Thirdly, we do not know what Mr. Howard did for the passage of the Anti-lynching Bill. We do know what he did *against* its passage and we are perfectly willing to leave the recital of Mr. Howard's eminent services to his race and country to the gentleman himself, unhampered by any pessimistic remarks of our own.

OUR FUTURE POLITICAL ACTION

A SYMPOSIUM

THE CRISIS has sent letters to fifty-six colored leaders, as follows:

"In view of the defeat of the Dyer Bill, will you kindly write for THE CRISIS, *a statement in fifty words or less, on the next political step which you think the Negroes should take?"*

To date 28 answers have been received; of these, three desire to make no statement: the others follow:

Our duty is clear and simple. We should reward our friends and punish our enemies. That is the way the game of politics is played. Irrespective of party, those congressmen whose support of the bill was sincere should receive our loyal support and those whose attitude was doubtful or evasive should be accorded treatment in kind. Any other generalization, it seems to me, is subject to manifest inconsistencies.

HARRY E. DAVIS,
Member Ohio House of Representatives.

I think the Negroes should insist upon the passage of the Dyer Bill, as it is. It is both morally and politically right. My belief is that the Party in power should be held responsible for the passage of legislation and the issue as to the success of this Bill and any other legislation necessary to render effective the power of the majority in Congress should be immediately entered upon.

Very sincerely yours,
JAMES A. COBB,
Attorney-at-law, Washington, D.C.

Politically the Negro is at sea. The two major parties now are indisputably aligned with capitalistic interests. Human rights are but a mere faint echo of an almost forgotten past. The future must be approached not from a party standpoint, but from a measured assortment of individuals. To the Negro, the measure consists in a questionnaire, proposed I trust by the N. A. A. C. P., and submitted to every nominee for, or member of, the Senate and House. Its answer must be more than an answer—almost an oath. Its propositions are:

1. Do you believe in Federal Government action in suppressing lynching?

2. Are you willing to assemble in caucus to consider a bill to that end?

3. Will you manfully and sincerely support this bill to the end, disregarding attempts by the opposition to compromise you in its defeat?

Silence or unfavorable answers should mean the candidates' defeat. Give us enough individuals to pass the legislation and it becomes law, in spite of parties. The Dyer Bill is defeated. Let those regret who combined to kill it!

JOHN HURST,
Bishop, African M.E. Church.

The Dyer Bill would declare American disapproval of lynch law in familiar American terms—dollars to lives. But defeated, it still made a contribution to our thinking, and served as an eye-opener to Negro people in particular.

Lynching is now formally adopted as an American institution by the combined action of both old political parties. Henceforth, the thinking Negro, and all other good citizens must support men and measures, not parties.

P. A. WALLACE,
Bishop, A.M.E. Zion Church.

Inasmuch as the Republican Party is unwilling or is impotent in the face of Democratic opposition to pass legislation to protect the Negro from mob murder or any legislation beneficial to the group, in my opinion the Negro should form alliances, wherever possible, with that party which has the power and will to put forward and accomplish undertakings in his behalf.

W. T. ANDREWS,
Editor, Baltimore *Herald-Commonwealth*.

In view of the fact that the Dyer Bill was not killed by a majority vote but was lynched by a filibuster; in view of the expressed disapproval of the filibuster by many

leading southern white people, and in view of the number of lynchings that have taken place since the defeat of the bill, I would strongly urge that a similar bill be presented to the next congress. The kind of persistence shown by the proponents of national prohibition and woman's suffrage must characterize our efforts.

C. H. TOBIAS,
International Sec'y, Y. M. C. A.

As president of the National Race Congress permit me to say to our people through the wide circulation of your valuable paper, that I am surprised and hurt by the weakness of the Republican party in Congress which failed to enact into law the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill designed to so largely protect American citizens in their constitutional rights.

When I recall the failure of the Republican Party in control of the Federal Government to enforce the 14th and 15th amendments, while enjoying the support and confidence of our people, I say to Colored Americans everywhere, that that party should be denied our further support until it purges itself of these grievous faults.

W. H. JERNAGIN,
Pastor, Mt. Carmel Baptist Church,
Washington, D. C.

The defeat of the Dyer Bill should not discourage the race or race leaders. Fighting lynching is a fight for a great principle and it will not down. The anti-lynching crusade should be continued and thus be ready at the psychological moment to have our friends in both parties introduce another bill which neither party at this time will likely initiate.

C. H. PHILLIPS,
Bishop, Colored M.E. Church.

Reintroduce the Dyer Bill or a better bill and press it to pass.

Subordinate strife and self-importance among leaders and unite in pushing the principle over the top.

Cease abuse of enemies; appeal to reason; agree among ourselves; put personalism in the back ground and principle to the front.

B. J. DAVIS,
Editor, Atlanta *Independent*.

The defeat of the Dyer Bill has awakened ALL decent law-abiding citizens. The awakened Negro may not know exactly what he desires politically unless it is a change. And this is what they are going to have. Both of the old parties have shown their inability to work out problems of government—with the Ku Klux raging we may expect what France had—a revolution.

MARY B. TALBERT,
National Director, Anti-Lynching Crusaders.

Too soon to say what is the next political step, but Negroes are meditating.

Heartiest congratulations to this Association for its remarkable and *successful* work. The Dyer Bill failed but America has been compelled to look Lynching in the face. The Association made no mistake to trust the promises of gentlemen; but politically Negroes will have to pay due regard to the disloyalty of parties or persons.

JOHN HOPE,
President, Morehouse College.

"The next step" should be free from politics and politicians. Partisan support is not enough.

Enlist the great moral forces of the whole nation. The evil is national; let the effort to correct it be national.

Anti-lynching efforts are not Negro efforts. Any measure known as, or reputed to be, a Negro measure is doomed.

Stop cursing the South. Southern consent must be had to pass such a bill; and southern sympathy secured before such a law could be enforced in the South where enforcement must be had.

Intelligent, sane and persistent propaganda all over the country.

Respectfully,
ROBT. L. VANN,
Editor, Pittsburgh *Courier*.

I think the fight should continue for legislation to punish lynchers or work for legislation for the enforcement of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. Any legislator or executive who is against proper laws or proper protection under the law should receive our condemnation. Negroes should stand shoulder to shoulder for the enforcement of law and for the protection of the humblest citizen under the law. If we would sink our personal prejudice and

work for the good of the whole we would get somewhere.

FRED R. MOORE,
Editor, N. Y. *Age*.

Our next step should be to bind ourselves together, stop bickering and finding fault with men and women of the race who are trying to do something to alleviate the sufferings and wrongs being perpetrated upon our people.

If we are to be further humiliated by the Republican Party, let's stand up like men and exercise our right of franchise in an intelligent manner, rewarding our friends, and measuring out to our enemies their just dues.

C. E. MITCHELL,
Business Manager,
W. Va. Collegiate Institute.

Three words seem to us to be enough—"Vote for Democrats."

CARL MURPHY,
Editor, Baltimore *Afro-American*.

The Dyer Bill was slaughtered in the house of its friends. The last resort—*an enlightened public conscience*.

C. S. BROWN,
President, Lott Carey Foreign
Mission Convention.

In the defeat of the Dyer Bill, the American Negroes face a serious and hazardous political future, and yet it is not tragic nor disastrous, hence there is HOPE: our next effort for human treatment should be for the repeal of ALL State Laws of Jim Crowism and Segregation.

REV. E. THOMAS DEMBY,
Bishop Suffragan, P. E. Church.

The Negro stands distraught between the lukewarmness of the Republicans and the hostility of the Democrats. He lacks independent agency of self-relief. The Republican Party, despite its apostasy from the ancient faith, is still the best existing instrument of racial service. The Negro is too helpless to practice vindictive politics.

KELLY MILLER,
Dean of Junior College,
Howard University.

A busy public may temporarily overlook the seriousness of the unlawful taking of human life but the rising public conscience of the present, speaking through fearless individuals, organizations, and progressive political parties in state and nation will achieve the purpose of the Dyer Bill to make every citizen's life secure.

J. E. MOORLAND,
International Sec'y, Y. M. C. A.

I think the fight for the Dyer Bill was magnificent; it ought to be kept up. I would suggest enlisting larger sympathy of a larger group of Negroes and a larger group of whites, both North and South.

We cannot make the Dyer Bill purely a Negro affair, nor merely an N. A. A. C. P. movement, but an effort to improve the National morals. I rather look upon the Dyer Bill as a moral rather than a political issue. It was defeated not by the politicians, but by the lack of educated sentiment.

R. R. WRIGHT, JR.
Editor, *Christian Recorder*.

What astounds me is that a great country like ours, always talking about being an example for others, hesitates to do its duty in a matter that would enable it to go into international councils with clean hands and protect its citizenship within its border.

As to the Negro, it might not be a bad thing to have his reported friends know that when they become supineless and cannot handle the enemies of legislation to which they are committed, they get over on the ground of their enemies and both look alike.

I. GARLAND PENN,
Secretary, Board of Education
for Negroes M. E. Church.

Since the Race is robbed of political rights in the South, I believe that the most effective protest against the defeat of the Dyer Bill must be economic. Every reputable leader and organization ought to urge our people to leave the South and settle in the west and northwestern states where they can fight for their rights with an even chance. Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., the Urban League and N. A. A. C. P. must not only see to it that these people are guided to free-

dom but take steps to adjust them to northern environment and conditions.

Once settled in the north and west, civic organizations must teach them the value of the ballot and how to use it. Race voters in the north must vote for the man and issues rather than the party. Political freedom must be used to show Congress that our interests are as important as those of any other group. We can show them by voting against those men who are not with us in our fight for justice and American rights.

ROBERT S. ABBOTT,
Editor, *Chicago Defender.*

Organize, organize and again organize. Then vote for men who are friends to the race, irrespective of party or political superstition. And let the organization of our own race be so strong and compact that it will be felt as a force wherever the Negro has the vote.

ALICE DUNBAR-NELSON,
Associate Editor, *Wilmington Advocate.*

While the Republican Party comprises many friends of the Negro, they are impotent and in the minority. The spirit of Lincoln is dead and the party is no longer the champion of human rights. The President invites us out.

The Democratic Party is impossible for the South dominates its councils.

In view of the apparent understanding between these major parties on all race questions, the persistent neglect to proportion Congressional representation in the South, and to pass the Dyer Bill and other remedial measures; the Negro must find expression and relief through some other agency—the party affording the greatest promise. But this must be a concerted movement; the implied protest alone will produce favorable reaction.

E. BURTON CERUTI,
Attorney-at-Law, Los Angeles.

The next step? Forward of course. We must not give up. I do not believe we can expect the Republican party as such to pass an anti-lynching bill any time soon. We must do as the Temperance forces have done and put our cause on the conscience of America and by shifting our votes secure support of the politicians of both dominant parties. The suppression of lynching is not in the interest of the Negro, it is in the interest of good government and of all decent Americans.

ROBERT E. JONES,
Bishop, Methodist Episcopal Church.

TO A FOREIGN MAID

OSWALD DURAND (Haiti)

Translated by Jessie Fauset

FOR one glance from those eyes
Of such heavenly blue
That they rival the skies,—
My life's forfeit to you.
But that's a small prize—
Do you not think so Rose?
Not enough I suppose
For a glance from those eyes!

For a curl from your brow
Of that hair soft and fine,
Gold as gold corn I trow—
I would give my divine
Hope of heav'n. A poor vow!
Do you not think so Rose?
Not enough I suppose
For a curl from your brow!

For a little fleet kiss
From your lips Cupidwise
Where *l'Amour* laughs in bliss,
I'd renounce family ties..
Even so I'm remiss—
Do you not think so Rose?
Not enough to propose
For a little fleet kiss!

For your love chaste and white
I'd let slip from my hand,
Heaven, life, family right,
—And the dear Fatherland!
Ah! I sigh at my plight!
Do you not think dear Rose,
That's too much to propose
For your love chaste and white?

AUNT DINAH AND DILSEY DISCUSS THE PROBLEM

MARY CHURCH TERRELL

"AUNT DINAH, cullud folks is turrible bad, ain't they? An' they don' stop at bein' bad theirselves, but they learns white folks so much devulment, don' they?"

The shine on Dilsey's face made the kitchen range, which had just been polished, hang its head with shame and the expression thereon was a cross between a puzzle and a frown, as she asked Aunt Dinah the questions which she promptly answered herself.

"What make you so down on yo' own color, Dilsey? How come you don' neber see no good in nuthin' 'tall dey does an' says? Youse only twelve yeahs old, an' I 'low dey ain't no little white gal in dis town got more prejuder agin cullud folks dan you is. Do you' teacher in de school larn you dat?"

Aunt Dinah's face was full of indignation and the glance she threw upon Dilsey might easily have withered her. But the child winced only for a second and then proceeded to give a reason for the faith that was in her with all the cocksureness characteristic of youth.

"Deed my teacher don' learn me that. She is always tellin' us chilrun how many nice, grand things cullud folks have done and how many rich ones there are. But I tell you, Aunt Dinah, I don' put much 'pendence in what my teacher says, 'cause she's cullud herself. I heard some white folks, what eat at that resterrrant where I worked last summer, say that all cullud folks are ignant, even those that been to school and none of 'em can tell the truf neither. So I don' put much 'pendence in what cullud folks says—not even my teacher."

"But what makes you think dat all cullud folks is so turrible bad, Dilsey, an' how come you say dey larns white folks devulment?"

"Oh, pshaw, Aunt Dinah, you showly ain't askin' me fer serious earnes'. Don' you know that all cullud folks lie and steal and is mos' in genully wicked, an' sets white folks a bad example all the time? An' that ain't the wust of it neither. Only yistiddy I heard Miss Nelson say that cullud folks had brought all kinds of turrible diseases from Africa an' give 'em to white folks.

"They brought a nasty, ugly worm here called the 'Hook Worm.' Ev'ry time it bites white folks, it makes 'em lazy an' they hates to work. But they ought to call it the 'Cook Worm,' 'cause when it bites white ladies, it makes 'em hate to cook. Ain't you never noticed, Aunt Dinah, how white ladies hate to cook? It's jes 'cause that old worm that black folks brought from Africa has gone an' bit 'em. An' jes ez that worm makes white ladies hate to cook, when it bites 'em, it makes nice, white gemmen hate to do any kind of work, lessen dey jes has to."

"Hesh, Dilsey, fer de Lawd's sake. Showly no white folks ain't layin' dere laziness on cullud folks. I ain't been to no school, chile, but I knows a heap mo' dan dat. Dere wouldn't a been no cullud folks here 'tall, ef white folks hadn' always hated to work. White folks didn' go way over to Afriky to steal cullud folks, case dey loved 'em, honey, but dey lef dere wives an' chillun fer weeks at a time an' dahed to brave de briney oshing wif all its sharks an' whales to get black folks an' bring 'em heah to make 'em work, so dey wouldn' have nuthin' to do deysef. Taint no worm black folks brung from Afriky made white folks heah lazy, chile. De worm dat bit laziness into white folks, honey, stung em right arter Gawd made Adam and Eve."

When Aunt Dinah finished her speech, she was still shaking her finger at Dilsey, as though she were trying to press her words into the child's brain. Dilsey, a bit frightened at the old woman's intensity, stood at a respectful distance from her and listened to every word, but she was by no means convinced by the arguments she had heard.

"Anyhow, Aunt Dinah," she replied, "if cullud folks didn' raly make white folks lazy by bringin' a worm from Africa with 'em, they are spreadin' tuber-closis among white folks here, so the poor things are dyin' jes like sheep."

"What in de wurl is tuber-closis? Dat showly is some new kin' ub sickness. I aint nebber hearn tell ub tuber-closis befo'. It sounds lak it's a new-fashioned feber, aint it?"

"Fer goodness sake, Aunt Dinah, you showly has heard of tuber-closis. Miss Nelson said that ignant people call tuber-closis—consumption."

The slightest reflection upon her intelligence riled the old woman greatly, and she allowed Dilsey to go no further in her treatise on tuberculosis.

"I don' cyar nuthin' 'bout what Miss Nelson sed," she replied hotly. "Ole Marse John an' ole Miss, too, always called it cornsumption, and dere wan' nuthin' dey didn' know. Miss Nelson don' b'long to no fambly ub quality no how."

Dilsey could stand some things—indeed she knew better than to take audible exception to anything Aunt Dinah said, and she rarely dissented from any opinion the old woman expressed. But—Miss Nelson was the idol of her young heart and the apple of her big, black eyes. She would defend Miss Nelson to the very last ditch. Backing nearer to the door, she took up the cudgel of defense.

"Miss Nelson knows a heap mo' than some of the old quality folks, anyhow."

Alarmed at her own tone, she simmered down a bit and continued as meekly as her indignation would permit.

"Miss Nelson done graderated from college an' she knows mo' than some men, I tell you, Aunt Dinah. An' Miss Nelson said that cullud folks is spreadin' tuber-closis jes like a farmer sows seed, an' white folks is dyin' jes like sheep."

"Ain't you got no sense a 'tall, Dilsey? 'Pears to me lak de cullud chillun whut goes to school don' know ez much ez us whut didn'. I've hearn ole Marse an' ole Miss say dozens ub times dat all endurin' slav'ry, dere slaves didn' have no cornsumption a 'tall, and dat dere wan' no sich a thing ez cornsumption from one en' ub Afriky to anudder. An' I hearn ole Marse say dat cornsumption is called de 'Great White Plague,' case white folks wuz de fust to interduce it an' give it to cullud folks. An' now, bless de livin' Lawd, white folks is eben tryin' to lay de blame ub dat disease on po cullud folks. Dey don' stop at nuthin' to clar dere own skirts. Dey is jes so 'termined to lay de blame ub all dere sins an' sickness on cullud folks dat dey gone to 'cusin 'em ub interducin' a disease dat dey invented deyself. White folks show do beat de Dutch. Dey got de insurance to say anythin' 'bout cullud folks dey likes. An' arter dey says it nuff' times, dey is so 'customed to hearin' it, dey raly b'lieves it is de truf.

"An' Dilsey, lots ub white folk hates cullud folks, case dey b'lieves things 'bout 'em dat aint so. Fer de Lawd sake, chile, don' you pattern arter dem low-lived darkies whut 'peats ebry thing dat white folks says agin dere own race, jes lak it was de truf spoke by de Holy Ghost. Tain't no race in de wurl back bites its own color like po' cullud folks. But—laws a mussey, chile, I mus' be goin' crazy. I ain't got no time to be argifyin' wid you, I got to do my wuk, an' you wash dem dishes jes ez quick ez you kin'."

ROAD SONG

COUNTEE P. CULLEN

THIS will I say today,
Lest no tomorrow come:
Thy words are singing birds
That strike my faint lyre dumb.

This will I vow thee now,
Lest vows should go unsaid:
Thou art unto my heart
A song to wake the dead.

This oath I take to break
When fails the lover's code:
To fare as thou, and share
With thee each winding road.

Thus do I deal my seal,
No alien one may break:
Thy mouth to mine, as south
The long lone trail we take.

NOTES ON THE NEW BOOKS

ALAIN LEROY LOCKE AND JESSIE FAUSET

Bronze: A Book of Verse. Georgia Douglas Johnson. B. J. Brimmer Co., Boston, Mass.

Nigger: A Novel. Clement Wood. E. P. Dutton and Company, New York.

The World of Islam. Lothrop Stoddard. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

The Trend of the Races. George Edmund Haynes, Ph.D. Published by Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada.

The Life of John Tengo Jabavu. D.D.T. Jabavu, B.A. The Lovedale Institutional Press.

The Negro Press in the United States. Frederick G. Detweiler. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

The Black Border. Gullah Stories of the Carolina Coast. Ambrose E. Gonzales. The State Company, Columbia, South Carolina.

I

IN Bronze, Mrs. Johnson has at last come to her own—if not also in a peculiar way, *into* her own. A certain maturity that is to be expected of a third volume of verse, is here, but it is the homecoming of the mind and heart to intimately racial thought and experience which is to be especially noted and commended. We can say of this that it is timely both for the author and her readers: for her, it represents the fruition of a premeditated plan not to speak racially until she had learned to speak and attract attention in the universal key; for her readers, of many classes and sections of opinion, it represents more perhaps an occasion of seeing the "color problem" at the heart, as it affects the inner life. Even if it were not very readable poetry, it would from this latter point of view, be important as human documentation of a much needed sort. "Not wholly this or that"—"Frail children of sorrow, determined by a hue"—"Shall I say, 'My son, you're branded in this country's pageantry' "—the phrase DuBois has singled out, "With voices strange to ecstacy"—"This spirit-choking atmosphere"—"My every fibre fierce rebels, against this servile rôle"—or

"Don't knock at my door, little child
I cannot let you in;
You know not what a world this is"—

there are volumes in these phrases. After this, the race question becomes, as it must to all intelligent observers, a human problem, a common problem.

One of Mrs. Johnson's literary virtues is condensation. She often distills the trite and commonplace into an elixir. Following the old-fashioned lyric strain and the sentimentalist cult of the common emotions, she succeeds because by sincerity and condensation, her poetry escapes to a large extent its own limitations. Here in the subject of these verses, there is however a double pitfall: avoiding sentimentality is to come dangerously close to propaganda. This is also deftly avoided—more by instinct than by calculation. Mrs. Johnson's silences and periods are eloquent, she stops short of the preachy and prosaic and is always lyrical and human. Almost before one has shaped his life to "Oh! the pity of it", a certain fresh breeze of faith and courage blows over the heart, and the mind revives to a healthy, humanistic optimist. Mrs. Johnson seems to me to hear a message, a message that gains through being softly but intensely insinuated between the lines of her poems—"Let the traditional instincts of women heal the world that travails under the accumulated woes of the uncompensated instincts of men", or to speak more in her way, "May the saving grace of the mother-heart save humanity."

CREATIVE American art has only recently begun to raise the portraiture of Negro life from the inartistic and libelous level of caricature to that of seriously intentioned art. This novel by Clement Wood is one of the most commendably serious and well-intentioned of the several quite significant recent efforts; it forms a notable third to Stribling's "Birthright" and

Shands' "White and Black". By its painful and stark realism we come to the realization at least that the situation of the Negro in the southern environment contains something more weighty, artistically and socially, than the Chandler Harris Stories. The attitudes of farce and sentimental comedy are rapidly giving way to those of serious problems and heavy tragedy. We can no longer complain of not being taken "seriously".

But is there not now a looming danger of another lurch of interest—that of being taken over-seriously? Painstaking realism, the almost microscopic analysis of problem-study—commendable as they are, approach the tragedy of our social life through the formula—and from the pathological angle. This must be, so long as the analysis is not self-analysis—done from the psychological intimacy of the race experience itself. We hope our authors, having lost to a considerable extent the glory of pioneers, will not shirk the more steady and serious duty of settlers and tillers of their own province.

Ciement Wood knows his characters and their sordid Alabama setting. He used for the most part the same scale and perspective for the white South and the black South. His closing, however, is defective despite accuracy of drawing—for the motivations, especially of his younger folks, is at one time over-primitive, at other times, over-subtle. Indeed there is too much perpetuation of the fiction of a separate "race temperament", "race psychology". There is less of tragic misunderstanding and more of calculated hypocrisy in the situation. The real tragedy is that thinking so much alike, the two races in the South must live so differently by the artificial restrictions and conventions, which tragically stagnate and pollute the group life of each. Mr. Wood has succeeded marvelously though when one considers the handicap of that alienation from the inner thoughts and feelings of the Negro which is the direct and unfortunate result of that possum-psychology which the South has generated and fostered for generations. Moreover his intentions and point of approach seem more artistic and less touched by bias and preconception than any of his predecessors. The portraiture gains also from the inclusion of both city and rural conditions and their reactions upon his characters. It is a serious, sane and sober study—almost too serious and sober and studied for a thorough work of art. It is the dead art of the miscroscope, not the living moving vital art of the eye. But not only is it good to "see ourselves as others see us", it is good when they see more deeply than they previously have. But as we are, will never be adequately told until it is self-seen and self-spoken.

IN "The Rising Tide of Color", Lothrop Stoddard was merely alarmist. In the "New World of Islam" he is a deeper analyst and his brand of journalism is less yellow. Not merely does he sketch dramatically the rise of the pan-Islamic consciousness but utters some significant criticism and warning. Among other things he says, tracing the causes of the movement more to external and European factors than internal and Asiatic.

"Nineteenth-century imperialism was certainly mentable and was apparently beneficial in the main. Twentieth-century imperialism cannot be so favorably judged. It should have been obvious that these (the Asiatic) peoples whose past history had shown them capable of achievement and who were now showing an apparently genuine desire for new progress, needed to be treated differently from what they had been. In other words, a more liberal attitude on the part of the West had become advisable. But no such change was made. On the contrary, in the West itself, the liberal idealism which had prevailed during most of the nineteenth century was giving way to that spirit of fierce political and economic rivalry which culminated in the Great War. Never had Europe been so avid for colonies, for 'spheres of influence', for concessions and preferential markets; in fine, so 'imperialistic', in the unfavorable sense of the term. The result was that with the beginning of the twentieth century Western pressure on the East, instead of being relaxed, was redoubled; and the awakening Orient, far from being met with sympathetic consideration, was treated more ruthlessly than it had been for two hundred years. The way in which Eastern countries like Turkey and Persia, striving to reform themselves and protect their independence, were treated by Europe's new *Realpolitik* would have scandalized the liberal imperialists of a generation before. It certainly scandalized present-day liberals, as witness these scathing lines written in 1912 by the well-known British publicist Sidney Low:

"'The conduct of the Most Christian Powers during the past few years has borne a striking resemblance to that of robber-bands descending upon an unarmed and helpless population of peasants. So far

from respecting the rights of other nations, they have exhibited the most complete and cynical disregard for them. They have, in fact, asserted the claim of the strong to prey upon the weak, and the utter impotence of all ethical considerations in the face of the armed force, with a crude nakedness which few Eastern military conquerors could well have surpassed.'"

If, as Mr. Stoddard says and believes, "the great cosmic event in the history of the last quarter of a century has been the awakening of Asia", then militant European culture confronts either a conversion or a conflict. It stands perplexed before a dilemma of its own making, between its practices and its professions, between its economic idols and its Christian ideals. Mr. Stoddard places this as a plea for more enlightened and tolerant tutelage. He seems, as so many others, to forget or underestimate three factors, all the more important because they are so often in the psychological blind-spot of the Caucasian eye. First and foremost is the fact that when non-Caucasian peoples are aroused expediency never counts. Second, he seems to underestimate the economic self-sufficiency of Eastern and African peoples whenever they choose to revert to their strictly indigenous culture. Economic isolation, so unthinkable to the European is a very practical and easy thing for the non-European. And third, he seems not to realize that prestige rather than might has been the mainspring of European exploiting power and that this has been irretrievably damaged by the European war and its aftermath. These counsels of moderations really come too late; eleventh hour repentance in diplomacy and statecraft has little efficacy. Nevertheless it is well for those who still slumber in Victorian security of mind to read Lothrop Stoddard.

A. L. L.

II

THE fact that Mr. Haynes' little book "The Trend of the Races," reached a sale of 60,000 in six months is significant. The author launched a much needed discussion of a difficult and persistent problem at a critical moment. What two races living side by side must have, is the will to understand and to coöperate. At present much difficulty arises from the fact that the Negro has one set of ideals for himself and the white man another. The Negro desires to be treated as a man. The whites unable to conceive of manhood that is not white strive constantly to block the fruition of this desire, and fear social equality. The result is conflict. Mr. Haynes in a clear, sane exposition emphasizes the futility of this and urges greater knowledge, self-restraint, faith, tolerance and lastly coöperation. This last must be learned since both races are indubitably here to stay. He sums up: "Whether we acknowledge it or not, the inseparable inheritance of the two races binds their welfare today and determines their progress tomorrow. We have tried the ways of war, of repression by force at great cost and increasing turmoil. Where progress and development of the two races is impartially studied, it becomes very clear that improvement in the intelligence and wealth of the one race has been bound up with the advancement of the other. Is it not time to capitalize this constructive, coöperative experience in the way of goodwill? The task of amicable race relations at home and abroad involves the finding of ways of discovery and expression in action of this good-will. White and Negro Americans work together as men and women facing common problems in the same land—problems of economic adjustment, problems of education, problems of civic and political justice, problems of public opinion as they strive toward national ideals. There have been and doubtless will continue to be conflicting interests. Deeper than these surface waves, however, there are doubtless greater coöperative impulses and interests for those who are settled upon the same soil."

IN spite of the unusual and trying arrangement of the material in "The Life of John Tengo Jabavu", the life of this Bantu patriot makes fascinating and instructive reading. This is the story of a native South African lad born of the most obscure origin and yet rising to the position of leader and saviour of his people. As a child he showed the will to succeed. "At the age of ten, John Ntengo, according to Native tradition, had to herd cattle, discharging this monotonous and often demoralizing occupation among the thickly wooded hills of that neighborhood which bears the ominous name of "Izigigaba" (carcass mounds).

His entire apparel then was a single shirt! In the course of time it was agreed by his austere parents that the boy should attend the elementary school; but on the strict understanding that after school he was to attend the cattle, which he did, with his meagre lunch in hand, and spent the remainder of the day there. At school, when others took down notes for homework, he sat, a pathetic figure writing nothing but trusting to his memory, because in his father's hut there were no such conveniences as a table and lamp by which he could do home-lessons at night. This handicap was not an unmixed evil for it sharpened his wits and developed his art of memorizing, a trait which proved valuable to him in later life."

By 1884 he had become the owner and editor of a paper *"Imvo Zabantsundu"* ("Native Opinion"), whose columns he used unsparingly to bring to light the wrongs inflicted on his race. Those were the troublesome days of the vexed question of Native titles to land; the Pass Laws; the unrestricted sale of strong drink designed to demoralize the people and the Native Disfranchisement Bill. Jabavu constantly agitated against these laws with the result that the sale of liquor was gradually restricted, the titles were settled, the Pass Laws became less rigorous, until to-day passes are almost obsolete in Cape Colony, and the Native Disfranchisement Bill was completely destroyed, "though only," says the biographer "after a herculean struggle." His greatest services, however, concerned the restoration of the soil to the Tembuland natives from which after the war of Ama Qwati of Stokwe Ndlela in 1879 they had been evicted without cause. Only those who understand the peculiar feeling of the African for his native land can realize how dearly this act of Jabavu endeared him to the Tembus.

MEMBERS of both races may learn a great deal from Mr. Detweiler's book. Indeed the study is above all else informative, for this compiler has expressed practically no conclusions, but has left everything to the inference of his readers. They will learn that Negroes own and edit nearly 500 newspapers and magazines in the United States, and that their readers run up into five or six millions. This proves that Negroes are grasping the tremendous importance of publicity, furthermore they are more or less consciously building up a racial solidarity since these journals tend to discuss almost exclusively Negro affairs and problems.

Mr. Detweiler sketches the rise and development of the Negro press and marks the difference between white and black journalism. The white press is more devoted to news and the Negro press to opinion. As a result the colored man in order to keep abreast of the times subscribes also for the ordinary daily. Advertisements in the Negro press seem at first sight more intimate, but investigation shows the struggle of both black and white toward a norm of beauty,—Madam Walker's "hair-straightening" process of the black press vies with the "permanent-wave" invention of the white. The bibliography and quotations cited in this study are interesting and of extreme importance to the student of not only journalism but of sociology.

THE 42 stories in Mr. Gonzales' compilation will strike the lay-reader as "love's labor lost". Only the philologist or the sociologist will take the time to wade through this mass of unrecognizable, unpronounceable dialect. Even the glossary, and there is a large and carefully assorted one, will hardly serve to maintain the interest which the unfamiliar words and forms are constantly breaking. Take for example the meaning of the single, constantly recurring word, *"duh"*. Says the Glossary: *"Duh*—do, does, in, to, toward. Thus *'duh paat'*, means going in the path; *'duh 'ood'* going through the woods; *'duh Sunday'* on Sunday", and so on from one difficulty to another.

What *is* worth while in the book is Mr. Gonzales' clever, if somewhat sharp and partisan foreword, which makes us feel that we would read with great interest a simple, trenchant account of these strange, *different* Negroes who form the "Black Border" of South Carolina running, far backwards from the coast, from Georgetown down below Beaufort. The origin of the name "gullah" is lost in mystery. Gonzales mentions a John Bennett of Charleston who

places the Gullahs among the Liberian group of tribes. But on the other hand a publication of 1822 by the Charleston City Council speaks of the insurrection of "Gullah Jack" and of his "Gullah" or "Angola" Negroes. Too great a discrepancy in these two opinions, since Liberia and Angola are many tortuous, African miles apart. What is an assured historic fact is that in slavery times many Gullah Negroes seeped into this country, that they were truculent and resentful of their bondage and that they were possessed of a strange, harsh, persistent dialect which "fixed the tonality of the Negro dialect of the Carolina low country," so much so that the patois of the districts where they lived came to be known as the "Gullah dialect". A strange, virile people whose influence is well worth tracing.

Another important point which Mr. Gonzales raises is Joel Chandler Harris' relationship to the "Uncle Remus" stories. "There was," he says, "little creative work in 'Uncle Remus.' Mr. Harris claimed to record the stories only 'like hit were gun to me'. These myths were known and told by Negro nurses to the white children over all the Southern States and in the West Indian Islands as well." This is interesting and informative and we hope that the compiler of the "Gullah Stories" will soon translate his patience, industry, and knowledge of Negro conditions in the "Black Border" into a form which we can more readily absorb and appreciate.

J. F.

THE LOTT CAREY FOREIGN MISSION CONVENTION

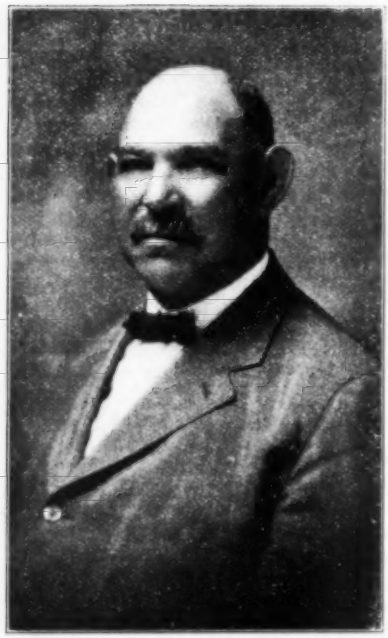
THE Lott Carey Foreign Mission Convention is perhaps the only colored organization (in America) devoted exclusively to foreign mission work. This convention was organized in the Shiloh Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., December 19th, 1897, as a district convention of the National Baptist Convention. It was aimed, however, chiefly as a protest against the policy of the National Baptist Convention, (1) in regard to its neglect of the foreign mission field; (2) as a protest against the fierce and hostile attacks, at the time, by the Leaders of the National Baptist Convention, against the white Baptists of the North.

By an agreement, those who organized into the Lott Carey Convention were to be known as the First Missionary District Convention of the United States of America, embracing all of the New England States and the states down the Seaboard to South Carolina. The leaders of the National Convention, however, strenuously opposed this course, and fought the new convention so fiercely that the Lott Carey organization declared its independence, and assumed the name, "Lott Carey Convention," after that illustrious Christian patriot, and pioneer to Liberia, Lott Carey, a Virginia slave.

The following is a declaration of the principles of the Lott Carey Convention as set forth in its organization and purpose at the time: "We contend, (1) that all foreign mission money collected from our churches should be used for the fostering of foreign missions only, and that all the churches should be taught to give to this specific work as the Lord has prospered them; (2) that all persons handling foreign mission money shall be strictly responsible for the proper distribution of the same; (3) that coöperation among all Baptists, white or black, in missionary work, is both Christian and desirable, and should be encouraged; (4) that race prejudice and caste distinction are incompatible with Christian ethics and should be denounced." These are the principles on which the Lott Carey organization began to build its structure. For years a battle royal was waged on these points, which practically divided the Baptists of the country into two distinct factions, coöperatives and anti-coöperatives.

The Lott Carey organization from the beginning resolved and pledged to put seventy-five per cent. of all the money it raised, into actual work on the foreign field. Its beginning was very small.

During the operation of this organization, which has covered about twenty-five years, the Lott Carey Convention has grown steadily. It began with only two mission-



DR. C. S. BROWN,
President Lott Carey Convention

aries, a man and his wife, employed in the Congo regions of Africa. To-day it has forty-three missionaries on the field; thirty-one of these are in Africa, and twelve in Haiti. Altogether twenty-five missionaries in Africa, Americans and Natives, were educated in America. Among these there are two physicians and two trained nurses. The annual receipts of the convention have increased from a few hundred to over fifty thousand dollars.

At the last annual session of the convention which was held in Charlotte, North Carolina, about thirty-five thousand dollars in cash was raised by the churches, and the receipts coming in during the year, have for the last three years, amounted to between sixteen and twenty thousand dollars.

Plans are being made for an extensive building program in Liberia. The policy of the Convention, on the foreign field, is to establish institutions of learning and place special emphasis on the training of native children, and the establishment of ideals of Christianity among them.

Already this association has some well equipped boarding schools for natives in Liberia, and it is just beginning to realize its long standing dream of building permanent institutions in the countries where it seeks to serve.

Much enthusiasm is shown among the churches to-day throughout the country in support of this program. There is a number of individual churches contributing annually from six hundred to fifteen hundred dollars a year to foreign mission work, under the Lott Carey Convention. It is the one organization in which there has never been any friction in its annual sessions. The Lott Carey Convention has during the past year entered into coöperation with the American Baptist Home Mission Society, with headquarters in New York, to do a larger work of education and evangelism in Haiti.

Altogether the prospect is bright, and the convention seems destined to accomplish much in promoting the cause of foreign missions among Negro Baptists of the world.

DR. A. A. GRAHAM,
Corresponding Secretary Lott Carey Convention

The SHAME of AMERICA

Do you know that the United States is the Only Land on Earth where human beings are BURNED AT THE STAKE?

In Five Years 1918-1922, Thirty-six People were publicly BURNED BY AMERICAN MOBS

60 Persons were lynched in 1922

3496 PEOPLE LYNCHED, 1889-1922

For What Crimes Have Mobs Nullified Government and Inflicted the Death Penalty?

The Alleged Crimes	The Victims
Murder	1,297
Rape	591
Attacks on women	263
Crimes against the person	364
Crimes against property	334
Miscellaneous crimes	463
Absence of crime	184
	3,496

Why Some Mob Victims Died:

Not turning out of road for white boy in auto
Being a relative of a person who was lynched
Jumping a labor contract
Being a member of the Non-Partisan League
"Talking Back" to a white man
"Insulting" white man

Is Rape the "Cause" of Lynching?

Of 3,496 people murdered by mobs in our country, only 591, or less than 17 per cent, were even accused of the crime of rape.

83 WOMEN HAVE BEEN LYNCHED IN THE UNITED STATES

Do lynchers maintain that they were lynched for "the usual crime?"

AND THE LYNCHERS GO UNPUNISHED

THE REMEDY

The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill is Still Before the United States Senate

The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill was passed on January 26, 1922, by a vote of 230 to 119 in the House of Representatives

The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill Provides:

That culpable State officers and mobbists shall be tried in Federal Courts on failure of State courts to act, and that a county in which a lynching occurs shall be fined $10,000, recoverable in a Federal Court.

The Principal Objection Advanced Against the Bill is upon the Ground of Constitutionality.

The Constitutionality of the Dyer Bill Has Been Affirmed by

The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives
The Judiciary Committee of the Senate
The United States Attorney General, legal adviser of Congress
Judge Guy D. Goff, of the Department of Justice

The Senate has been petitioned to pass the Dyer Bill by

29 Lawyers and Jurists including two former Attorney Generals of the United States
19 State Supreme Court Justices
24 State Governors
3 Archbishops, 85 bishops and prominent churchmen
39 Mayors of large cities, north and south

The American Bar Association at its meeting in San Francisco, August 9, 1922, adopted a resolution asking for further legislation by Congress to punish and prevent lynching and mob violence.

Fifteen State Conventions of 1922 (3 of them Democratic) have inserted in their party platforms a demand for national action to stamp out lynchings.

Lynching Creates Unrest. It Stimulated Northward Migration of Negro Workers from the South. It Injures Agriculture and Lessens Productiveness of Labor.

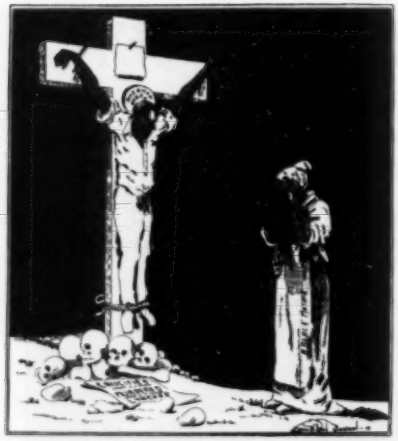
THE DYER ANTI-LYNCHING BILL IS STILL BEFORE THE SENATE
TELEGRAPH YOUR SENATORS YOU WANT IT ENACTED

If you want to help the organization which has brought to light the facts about lynching, the organization which is fighting for 100 per cent Americanism, not for some of the people some of the time, but for all of the people, white or black, all of the time.

Send your check to J. E. SPINGARN, Treasurer of the

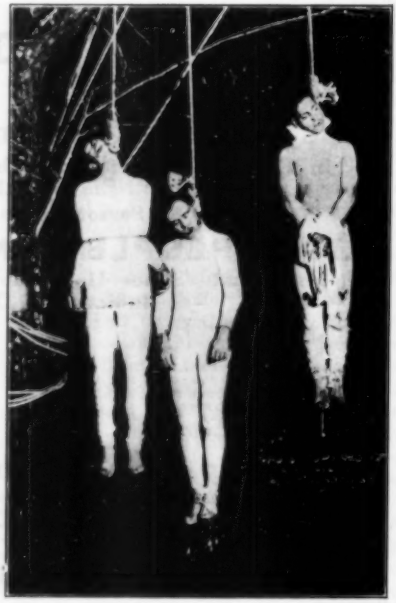
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY



3,496 CRUCIFIED!

22 ANTI-NEGRO MOBS, 1900-1922



18 PERSONS HANGED BY MOBS, 1922

LYNCHINGS BY STATES 1922

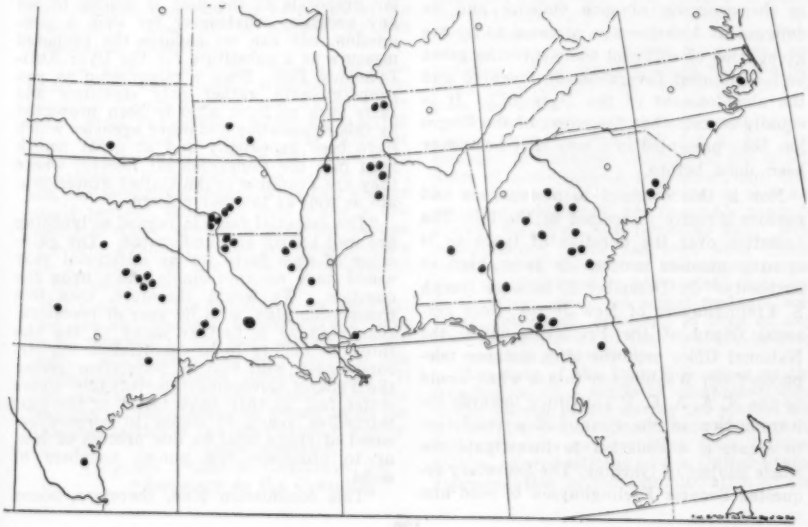
Texas	14	North Carolina	2
Georgia	11	South Carolina	2
Mississippi	8	Alabama	2
Arkansas	8	Tennessee	2
Louisiana	6	Oklahoma	1
Florida	4	Total	60

"The flesh on the body began to crinkle and blister. The face of the Negro became horribly distorted with pain. He assumed an attitude of prayer, raising his hands, palms together."
—Vicksburgh, Miss., *Evening Post*, May 15, 1919.

36 NEGROES BURNED ALIVE, 1918-1922

LYNCHINGS IN 1922

Hanged	18	Drowned	1
Shot	16	Beaten to death	1
Burned alive	8	Unknown	11
Shot and burned	2		
Tortured and drowned	2	Negroes	53
Hanged and burned	1	Whites	7



National · Association · for · the · ... Advancement · of · Colored · People.

THREE LETTERS

THE world knows what took place during the month of December at Washington when an attempt was made to discuss the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill in the United States. It knows how a determined filibuster led by Democratic Senators from states where the largest number of lynchings have occurred, combined with the apathy of the supporters of the bill, caused abandonment of it. It is unnecessary to rehearse again that pitiable spectacle of break-down of government in the United States.

Republican leaders have, apparently, become alarmed at the bitterness of colored people and intelligent, liberal white people that followed the defeat of the bill to end lynching. Certainly there has been no similar measure, nor in fact few measures of any sort, that have aroused the widespread interest that the anti-lynching bill did. The value of the eleven-year campaign of the N. A. A. C. P. in arousing the nation to the enormity of mob violence and its dangers to America was attested to by the great flood of editorial comment—the great bulk of it most favorable—on lynching and the abandonment of the Dyer Bill. It is equally certain that the cause of the Negro has been presented in a way that has never been done before.

Nor is this confined to newspapers and persons directly interested in the bill. The agitation over the question of lynching is causing genuine concern to those high in authority. On December 20 Senator Joseph S. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, close personal friend of the President, called the National Office over the long distance telephone from Washington to ask what would be the N. A. A. C. P.'s attitude towards his introduction in the Senate of a resolution to create a commission to investigate the whole subject of lynching. The Secretary requested Senator Frelinghuysen to send him a copy of the proposed resolution that opportunity might be given to study it as he felt he could not give a snap judgment over the telephone. Senator Frelinghuysen sent the resolution and Mr. Johnson wrote immediately that the N. A. A. C. P. could not look with approval on such a resolution.

"December 21, 1922.

"My Dear Senator Frelinghuysen:

"I wish to confirm my telegram of today as follows:

"'Your letter with enclosure received. Have given the matter careful study. Am writing you giving reasons why we do not consider proposed measure adequate. I request that you delay action until you receive my letter.'

"I have carefully examined your proposed Joint Resolution establishing a commission for the purpose of conducting a general inquiry into the subject of lynchings in the United States, including the number occurring and the causes thereof.

"We would interpose no active opposition to any steps leading toward the abolishment of the crime of lynching, but the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in this case as in a half dozen similar proposals in the past is unable to see any necessity whatsoever for such a commission, nor can we endorse the proposed measure as a substitute for the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. Such a commission as you propose could gather only statistics and facts such as have already been presented by this Association and other agencies which have been repeatedly and at great length read into the Congressional Record, where they are available to the United States Senate as well as to other citizens.

"The essential facts in regard to lynching are well known and undisputed. The gathering of such facts for an additional year would have no appreciable effect upon the question. We would, therefore, view this commission plan, with its year of investigation, only as a further delay to the one thing we believe to be essential in the circumstances, and that is legislation giving the Federal Government jurisdiction where states fail, as they have failed in the past thirty-five years, to secure to persons accused of crime trial by due process of law, or to prosecute and punish members of mobs.

"This commission plan, therefore, seems

calculated only to delay action or lull the nation and the Negro with false hopes.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will not be actively interested in a commission to investigate lynching. Rather, we insist upon a revision of the Senate rules of procedure and the passage of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill.

"Yours very truly,
(Signed) "JAMES WELDON JOHNSON."

Just before the abandonment of the Dyer Bill in the Senate Mr. Johnson telegraphed President Harding urging that he stand firm in opposing the filibuster. On December 8 Mr. Christian, secretary to President Harding, replied as follows:

"The White House,
"Washington,
"December 8, 1922.

"My dear Mr. Johnson:

"I write to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of December 3d. I can readily understand the disappointment of the colored people over the inability of the Senate to function in the consideration of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. I also feel that our colored citizens will justly place the responsibility for this where it belongs, to wit, upon the Democratic minority whose filibustering under the existing Senate rules would not only prevent the passing of the Anti-Lynching bill but in so doing defeat the entire legislative program for the session, appropriation bills included, to the benefit of no one but to the detriment of the entire country. As you know, the President recommended the Anti-Lynching Bill to Congress. The Republican House passed it. The Republican majority in the Senate has labored earnestly and sincerely, last summer and now, to bring about its enactment. The bill is blocked by the Democratic filibuster.

"The fact is that the Senate operates under rules which render it impotent to do anything when a considerable minority sets out to block any decisive action by carrying on a determined filibuster. The filibuster against the Anti-Lynching bill could only be overcome by changing the Senate rules; but, the minority knowing what this change would portend, would at once make a filibuster effective against a proposed change of rules. Frankly, it does not seem possible for a revision of the rules to be effected at the short session.

"If the opposition persists in its hostility, then the anti-lynching legislation will have to be renewed at the next session of Congress. We shall all be very sorry if the postponement becomes inescapable but it will avail no one to deceive himself about the inability of the Senate to sweep aside the filibuster tactics of the determined minority.

"Yours sincerely,
(Signed) "GEO. B. CHRISTIAN, JR.
"Secretary to the President."

The National Office replied to that letter as follows:

"December 21, 1922.

"Mr. George B. Christian, Jr.,
"Secretary to the President,
"Washington, D. C.
"My dear Mr. Christian:

"I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th. Will you allow me to say in reply that the feeling of the colored people over the failure to pass the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill is one of more than disappointment. It is a feeling of chagrin and resentment.

"The colored people of the country, of course, realize the seriousness of the obstacle placed in the way of the Bill by the lynching tactics used by the Southern Democrats. But colored citizens also know that the Republicans in the Senate exerted almost no aggressive effort; that they practically sat mute and allowed the Democrats to assume responsibility for the failure of the Bill. If the Republicans had been in actual collusion with the Democrats to have the latter pull their chestnuts out of the fire, the appearances could not have been worse.

"The colored people of the country expected and had the right to expect more than this of the large Republican majority in the Senate. The Republican leadership really accepted defeat at the opening of the fight. Colored people and many white people as well feel that if the Republicans had been sufficiently concerned and had had the courage to stand firm, public sentiment throughout the country would have rallied to them and would have made the position of the Democratic filibusterers untenable.

"This lukewarmness on the part of the Republicans is as much resented by the colored people as the aggressive tactics of the Southern Democrats. The manner in which the Anti-Lynching Bill was handled by the Republicans in the Senate has evoked from colored newspapers all over the country expressions of the gravest doubt that the Republicans ever had any sincere intention to pass the Bill.

"We have many times expressed appreciation that the President did in his first message to Congress recommend the enactment of anti-lynching legislation, and that he has more than once conveyed to this Association evidence of his favorable attitude toward the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. Notwithstanding, there has been keen disappointment on the part of the colored people that the President in his several messages to Congress, while an actual measure was being considered, neglected to urge at any time the enactment of that measure, or even to mention it favorably.

"The fate of the Dyer Bill comes as the culmination of a series of disappointments to the colored people during the present administration—a disappointment which in itself outweighs any resulting from failures to give colored citizens of the United States representation in the administration of the

government. The present state of mind of the colored people will be far-reaching in its effects.

"I hope you will appreciate that in writing you as I am doing I am expressing no mere individual opinion but am making to you a frank statement of what I know to be the prevailing sentiment among the colored people of the whole country.

"Yours very truly,
(Signed) "JAMES WELDON JOHNSON,
"Secretary."

ANNUAL MEETING

GRIM determination of the friends of anti-lynching legislation to continue their fight with renewed vigor, was evidenced at the Annual Meeting held in New York on January 2. It was the most inspiring meeting of the last five years. A large number of branches was represented, including the Boston Branch through Mr. Butler R. Wilson, the District of Columbia Branch through Mr. Shelby J. Davidson, the Buffalo Branch through Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, the Orange, N. J. Branch through the Rev. W. H. Jackson, the Jersey City Branch through Mrs. Ida E. Brown, the Philadelphia Branch through Mr. Isadore Martin, Drs. J. Max Barber and William A. Sinclair, the Wilmington Branch through Mrs. Alice Dunbar Nelson, the Hartford Branch through Mrs. Mary T. Seymour, as well as a large number of friends from New York City and vicinity.

The afternoon meeting was held at the Russell Sage Foundation Building and was largely attended. At this meeting the annual reports of the officers were read. There were marked expressions of approval of the work done during the year 1922.

National officers as follows were elected:

PRESIDENT
Moorfield Storey
VICE-PRESIDENTS
Archibald H. Grimké
Rev. John Haynes Holmes
Bishop John Hurst
Arthur B. Spingarn
Mary B. Talbert
Oswald Garrison Villard
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
Mary White Ovington

The following members of the executive staff were re-elected for the year 1923.

Mr. James Weldon Johnson, Secretary
Mr. Walter F. White, Assistant Secretary
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Director of Publication and Research
Mr. Robert W. Bagnall, Director of Branches
Mr. William Pickens and Mrs. Addie W. Hunton, Field Secretaries
Mr. J. E. Spingarn, Treasurer

The following persons were elected to the National Board to serve until December 31, 1925:

Miss Jane Addams, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. Charles E. Bentley, Chicago, Ill.
Rev. Hutchens C. Bishop, New York City
Hon. Arthur Capper, Topeka, Kansas
Mr. Robert R. Church, Memphis, Tenn.
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, New York City
Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York City
Hon. Charles Nagel, St. Louis, Mo.
Miss Mary White Ovington, New York City
Mr. Harry H. Pace, New York City
Mr. Charles Edward Russell, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Herbert K. Stockton, New York City
Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, Buffalo, N. Y.

MASS MEETING

ONE of the best mass meetings ever held under the auspices of the Association took place at the Town Hall on the same evening. A splendid audience filled the large auditorium. The speakers were Mr. Dan Kelly, who investigated for the Association the recent burning of three men at Kirvin, Texas; Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, who told in most interesting fashion of the splendid work and determination of the Anti-Lynching Crusaders; Mr. James Weldon Johnson, who outlined the plans of the N. A. A. C. P. and its friends for renewal of their fight for anti-lynching legislation; and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi of the Free Synagogue of New York. Dr. Wise spoke in part as follows:

"Nothing in the past years is more discreditable to Americans—and there are other things—nothing is more discreditable to Americans as a people than the successful stand of the Southern bloc of Senators against the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, or the pusillanimity of the administration in yielding to its pressure. If unpunished lynching is to be the condition of loyalty to the Democratic Party on the part of the electorate of the South, then the Democratic Party has ceased to be an instrumentality of government and is become the unblushing defender of mob violence, and insofar is only a little more contemptible and despicable than the Republican Party which rarely has the courage of its depravity and which in this case had not the courage to risk incurring the ill will of the Southern voters whom it hopes to cajole by silent assent to a lynching policy.

"Lynching is not a Negro question; it is an American problem. Lynching is the more an American problem because lynchers are always white men and because the lynched are nearly always colored men. Lynching means that the law and its due process break down when the provocation seems sufficiently grievous to its violators. Lynching means that democracy can maintain itself usually but not always, that the unchanging, inviolable law—to paraphrase the term of Euripides—of the democracy is set aside, for the most part, with impunity when mobs decree that it shall be . . .

"I come to you tonight as a Jew and a

Jewish teacher because I know as few men have had cause to know, how injustice hurts, how it galls, and how long continued oppression may degrade. I know—without uttering a word of bitterness or of hatred, for I feel none against my oppressors and my people's oppressors—my chief business in life is to move my people to stand erect, to lift their voices to the skies, and to know that no matter what the world without may do to them they must keep their souls undefiled . . . We stand with you, we will support you, we will fight with you, lawfully in the American way, not in the lawless way of the lyncher; we will fight with you as men and women until this shame shall have been ended, until lynching shall forever have passed from the vocabulary and the life of the American people. . . .

"And you, sons and daughters of the Negro race, will render a great service, a supreme service, to your and my America if instead of bowing your backs beneath the yoke of this foul and fiendish oppression, you say to America: 'We are men; we mean to live as men. Our wrongdoers shall be punished and utterly punished under and by the processes of the law; but lynching shall not be the portion of any man, white or black, who lives under the American skies."

THE JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY

RECENTLY many of us were astonished to learn that Biddle University in Charlotte, N. C., had changed its name to the "Johnson C. Smith University." But the change is by no means as astounding as the circumstances which gave rise to it. Here is a genuine latter-day fairy story.

In September, 1921, Dr. H. L. McCrorey, President of Biddle University, attended as delegate the Council of the Presbyterian System throughout the World, which met in Pittsburgh, Pa. While there he was invited by Mrs. Eliza B. Barker, president of the Presbyterian Society, to speak at the meeting of the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbytery of Pittsburgh. It seemed to Dr. McCrorey that here was the great opportunity of his life time to make known the needs of his institution to people who could and perhaps would supply them, and so in inspired and persuasive tones he made his wants known. Biddle needed a large sum to pay off a bill for science equipment; money for a cottage for one of the members of the faculty; money for a dormitory for theological students; money for a science building and money for endowment.

Many of the women who heard his message were very wealthy but even they must have been daunted by such appalling demands. Yet one of them, a Mrs. McKelvy, who had herself recently contributed to Negro education in one of the Presbyterian schools, took a report of Dr. McCrorey's speech to Mrs. Johnson C. Smith, whose late husband had amassed a vast fortune in the tin plate industry. Mr. Smith had in his lifetime contributed largely to Negro education, so not unnaturally Mrs. Smith moved by her friend's story sent for Dr. McCrorey. He came and forthwith she promised to erect a memorial at Biddle for her husband in the shape of a two-story brick cottage for one of the faculty families.

JOHNSON C. SMITH

The next day she sent for him again and on his return, accompanied this time by Dr. John M. Gaston of the Board of Missions for Freedom, she gave him $50,000 for the dormitory. Elated, Dr. McCrorey

DR. AND MRS. McCROREY AND DAUGHTERS

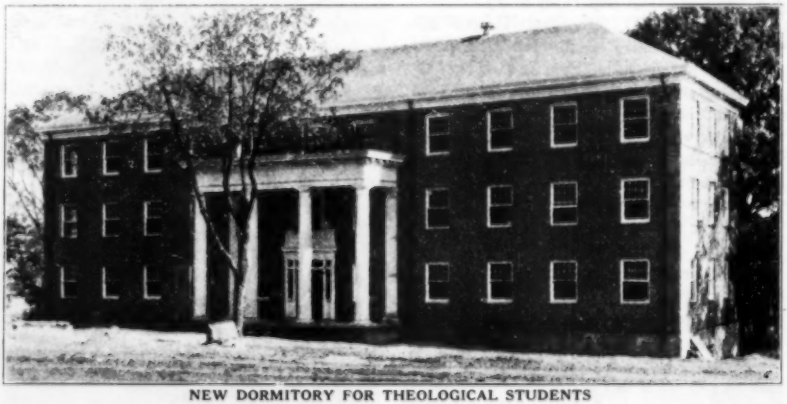
returned to Charlotte, to receive shortly the news that Mrs. Smith had decided also to donate the Science Hall and its equipment.

But this was not all. A few weeks later Mrs. Smith, her sister, Mrs. Woods, and Dr. Gaston visited Biddle to select the sites for the memorial buildings. On this occasion she left behind her a gift of $1500 for a stone memorial arch to be placed over the main entrance to the campus.

A month later Mrs. Smith announced through Dr. Gaston that she had provided in her will for an endowment of not less than one-half million dollars. Accordingly in recognition of these gifts the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America has cut in the large granite blocks which form the new memorial arch: "The Johnson C. Smith University"

And all this because of the earnest and impassioned words of Dr. McCrorey at the meeting of a Missionary Society in Pittsburgh!

"Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth."



NEW DORMITORY FOR THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS

WHEN SUE WEARS RED

LANGSTON HUGHES

When Susanna Jones wears red,
Her face is like an ancient cameo
Turned brown by the ages.

When Susanna Jones wears red,
A queen from some time-dead Egyptian night
Walks once again—

And the beauty of Susanna Jones in red
Wakes in my heart a love-fire sharp like pain.

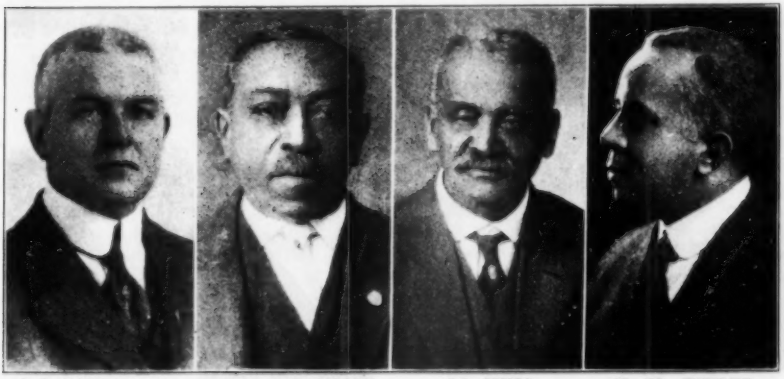
The Horizon

MISS ALLISON

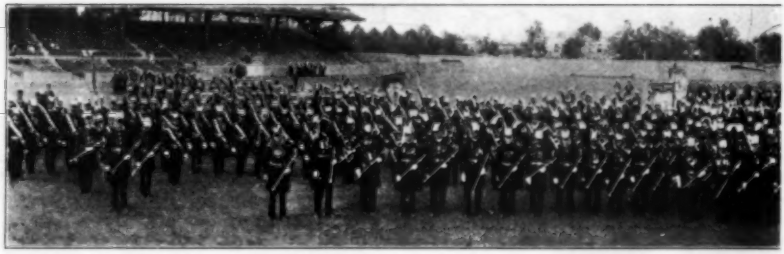
¶ We are sorry to lose this month the services of Miss Madeline G. Allison, who leaves THE CRISIS after a stay of twelve years. Miss Allison came to us in January, 1911, as a stenographer. She has since served as agents' clerk, secretary and editor's assistant. Recently she has had charge of the "make-up" of the magazine and of the "Horizon."

¶ In July, 1913, a number of Negro railway postal clerks met at Chattanooga, Tenn., to effect an organization of Negro clerks. Charles B. Shepperson of Little Rock, Ark., who died August 17, 1921, was elected national vice-president of this society, and president of his local branch. He was also one of the two local Negro clerks who held membership in the white Railway Mail Association. Mr. Shepperson's death marked the end of 30 years of efficient postal service, twenty of which he spent in the position of Clerk-in-Charge. However, he was not without interest in other activities for he was a partner in the Foster Drug Company and a member of the Arkansas Oil and Lease Exchange. Besides he was an active supporter of both the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. and of the N. A. A. C. P. He was a thirty-second degree Mason.

¶ The death of Richard E. Moore recalls the services which he performed for African Methodism in Chicago. Although a clerk for more than 43 years in the American Express Company, Mr. Moore was best known as the historian of the Bethel A.M.E. Church and of the Negro Masons in Illinois. He was born in Brownsville, Pa. 72 years ago but was taken when 7 years old to Chicago where he completed his education. At the age of 21 he became connected with Bethel A. M. E. Church and served as superintendent and steward for 53 years. When the church was rebuilt he assisted in laying the corner stone. In 1915 he was asked because of his long connection with the church to write its history which he did in a volume which Dr. J. T. Jenifer, Historiographer of the A. M. E. Church, praised for its "clearness of statement of facts." In the 70's Mr. Moore served as



C. B. SHEPPERSON RICHARD E. MOORE DR. JONES H. W. SHIELDS



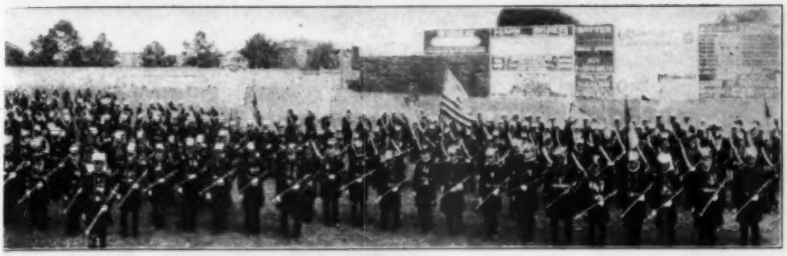
THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF

Captain of the "Hannibal Guards", the only colored military company at that time in Illinois.

¶ Virginia Union University has lost a distinguished land mark through the death of Professor Joseph Endom Jones, A.M., D.D., who died at his home on the University Campus on Saturday morning, October 14th, one day before his seventieth birthday. Dr. Jones was born October 15th, 1852, of slave parents and was taught to read and write by a Confederate soldier. He was one of the first colored men of Virginia to receive college education, receiving the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts from Colgate University (then Madison University), Hamilton, N. Y. in 1876. He was immediately called to the Chair of Greek and Church History at Richmond Institute, subsequently Virginia Union University, where he has since served with distinction. At his death he was Professor of Church Polity and Homiletics. Professor Jones is survived by his widow, Mrs. Rosa K. Jones, a son, Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League, and two grandchildren.

¶ Henri W. Shields, New York's newly elected member of Assembly representing the Twenty-first Assembly District, New York County, has spent his 38 years chiefly between Washington, D. C. and New York City. Although a native of Knoxville, Tennessee, he received all his training in the District of Columbia, being a graduate of the public schools there and of the College and Law Department of Howard University. In 1909 he was admitted to practice before the Bar of the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeals of the Capital and three years later he was admitted to practice before the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States of America. Since then he has been practicing in New York. Mr. Shields is a member of the Chicopee Democratic Club, the Tammany Hall organiza-

INEZ C. FIELDS MRS. H. M. SELDEN ©International Newsreel. WALTER L. COHEN HARRY O. WILSON



COLORED KNIGHTS TEMPLAR, WASHINGTON, D. C.

tion in the 21st Assembly District and the United Colored Democracy of New York County; he also belongs to the Moose and the Elks.

¶ If Miss Inez C. Fields carries out her project Hampton, Va., will soon witness a unique law firm. Miss Fields was graduated last June from Boston University Law School where she had been the only colored girl in the graduating class. Her father G. W. Fields is a graduate of Cornell University, and before that a graduate of Hampton in 1878. Although blind, he is one of the most successful members of the Virginia bar. He welcomes proudly the prospect of having his daughter, after she has received some experience in Boston, return as his law-partner to her native Hampton.

¶ The late Mrs. Hortense Murray Selden was a woman of many accomplishments, with a special interest in French, music, English and history. She was born in 1877 in New Haven, Conn., where she was educated and taught Kindergarten until 1908 when she married Benjamin F. Selden of the Y. M. C. A. and went to New York to live. Here she taught piano until she went to Gary, Indiana, where she became secretary for the Gary Civic Society. Nearly two years ago she went to Boston where she worked earnestly in the N. A. A. C. P. and the Roxbury Civic Club in which she was Chairman of the Women's Committee. She was also a member of the Parliamentary Law Club at the Women's Service Club.

¶ The recently named Comptroller of Customs at New Orleans, Walter L. Cohen, has been a conspicuous figure in Louisiana Republican politics for about 30 years. He was a delegate to national conventions in 1912, 1916 and 1920 and was Register of the Land Office during Roosevelt's administration. Mr. Cohen's appointment has received much attention because it is the first presidential post given to a colored man since Roosevelt was in power. Mr. Cohen is a rare type of politician; he has been modest and unassuming and of the non-office-seeking class. In particular he worked for coöperation with the whites until the "Lily-whites" sought to oust him. Indeed he has been the great protagonist of the Negroes against the "Lily whites". Mr. Cohen's new position if confirmed by the Senate will pay $5,000 a year.

¶ Forty-eight years seem a very brief period for a man to build up five flourishing institutions. Yet such has been the achievement of Harry O. Wilson, Baltimore's colored banker, business man and philanthropist. Twenty years ago he founded, on a very small scale, the Mutual Benefit Society which has grown until it occupies a $72,000 three-story building which houses 125 employees. Mr. Wilson as Secretary-Treasurer has paid out more than $1,000,000 in sick and death claims. He also operates the Helping Hand Building Association, the largest of its kind in the state. Through his aid 10 churches have been financed and 4 built outright. Everything that Mr. Wilson touches, seems marked for success. Ten years ago he started a small banking concern which has since expanded into the second largest Christmas Savings Club in the state of Maryland, white or colored. His most interesting business experiment, however, has consisted of the purchase of Wilson Park, a 60-acre tract in the suburbs, four blocks from Baltimore's richest colony. Here 85 families live occupying 65 homes all owned by Negroes. Last November he organized the Baltimore Mortgage and Dis-

"THE MESSAGE" *Courtesy of the International Studio.*

count corporation, a stock company capitalized at $1,000,000 with $500,000 in preferred and $500,000 in common stock. Mr. Wilson is president of this. Besides being possessed of unusual business acumen, Mr. Wilson has the reputation of being a modest

CHILDREN OF WESTINGHOUSE EMPLOYES

and unassuming man whose cardinal principles are hard work and honesty. He is a member of the Baptist Church.

¶ Wayman Adams, a portrait painter born in Indiana, in 1883, has recently turned his attention to the painting of colored people. Two studies of Negro congregations have been exhibited, one of which we reproduce, "The Message".

¶ One of the members of the club composed of employes of Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Co., East Pittsburgh, Pa., snapped this picture of the children of the colored employes, while on their annual outing.

¶ The Chi Delta Mu Fraternity, an organization of physicians, dentists and pharmacists, will hold its annual convention in Newark, N. J., April 3 to 5 as the guests of the Delta Chapter of that organization.

¶ Illiteracy among Negroes in Missouri has decreased 5.3 per cent in the last decade as compared to an increase of 13.2 in Negro population in the same period. Enrollment of Negro children in public schools in the state for 1922, was 32,891, an increase of 6,443 over the preceding year. These figures were issued by the Missouri Negro Industrial Commission at the recent meeting in Kansas City of the State Association for Negro Teachers.

¶ Bloomington, Illinois, is proud of her seven youngsters who form the Reindeer Independent Basketball Team. Young as they are they esteem themselves veterans and are going into their fourth season. They are (top row from left): Alfonso Stokes, Wayne Coleman, Donald McCullen, Fred Bynum. Below (from left) Noble Thomas, Eugene Covington and Harry Woolridge.

¶ Aside from state taxes or state appropriations for Negro education Virginia will

THE REINDEER TEAM

receive $69,600 from four different, private endowments for that purpose. This sum is made up of $14,525 from the Jeanes Fund; $15,725 from the General Education Board of New York; $30,000 from the Julius Rosenwald Fund and $9,550 from the Slater Fund.

¶ The Queen Mothers of Ashanti and of the Gold Coast have presented Princess Mary, Viscountess Lascelles, with a silver stool as a wedding gift. The stool is an exact replica of the Queen Mother's own stool over which an Ashanti war was once fought when the British attempted to carry it from Ashanti to London. With the gift came a letter from Queen Aketa, describing the construction and consecration of the stool.

¶ The Public Service Board of the National Colored Baptist Convention has removed to Washington, D. C. There will be branch offices in New York City, Chicago, Memphis, Atlanta, Dallas and Los Angeles. Rev. S. Geriah Lamkins is national executive secretary of the board of the Convention and will be in charge of the Washington headquarters. Plans are under way to ask for $250,000 for the erection of an administration building. There is a commissioner for each of the branch offices. The annual convention will meet in September at Los Angeles.

¶ Providence, R. I., has elected its first colored member of the city school board in the person of Dr. W. H. Higgins.

¶ During the first ten months of 1922 the Pittsburgh branch of the Urban League spent $7,934 in carrying out its work. Its workers visited 1,400 homes and held 350 group meetings. A free dental clinic was established and more than 1,000 court cases handled. A Christmas treat and outing were given 1,100 children; 400 babies were entered in baby shows, and 50 prizes were awarded in the annual baby campaign.

¶ It is not often that we find in a single picture so many distinguished and prominent women as are here grouped around Mrs. Mary B. Talbert at the dedicatory exercises of the Frederick Douglass Memorial Home. These ladies are educators, club women and political leaders and have few equals in their sincerity of purpose and breadth of experience. They are all members of the N. A. C. W.

THIRTEEN LEADERS OF AMERICAN COLORED WOMEN

Back Row—Miss R. J. Dunbar, Mrs. M. F. Waring, Mrs. M. E. Joshenberger, Mrs. A. W. Dickerson, Mrs. L. A. Pendleton, Mrs. M. M. Bethune. Front Row—Miss N. H. Burroughs, Mrs. B. T. Washington, Miss E. C. Carter, Mrs. N. L. Napier, Mrs. M. B. Talbert, Miss H. Q. Brown, Mrs. S. W. Stewart.

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

WITTER BYNNER in the *Freeman*:

Lincoln, come back to us, for all our ways
are changed
From open difference between right and
wrong.
Only the strong
Are right. We are estranged
From our own childhood. We have fought
a war
Illumined with the name
Of liberty—yet, unashamed of shame,
We sell the liberty we fought it for.

Lincoln, come back
To make our cowardice brave.
There is no darkness in the grave
Like to this lack
Of decent manhood, no decay in death
Like to this lust
For comfortable importance and no dust
In any mouth so cruel as our living breath.

Ireland has cried to us. Perhaps we heard.
China we seem to answer. India we may be-
friend.
And yet we only swagger and pretend
When, infamous, we speak the word
You, Lincoln, spoke for us and dare to call
A race like this American at all:
A traitor-race,
Enslaving Haiti, casting out the truth
From Santo Domingo, fouling its own
youth. . . .
Lincoln, come back and look us in the face.

* * *

We acknowledge the receipt of Volumes II and III of Leo Wiener's *Africa and the Discovery of America;* Volume XXIV of the *American Jewish Year Book;* John Louis Hill's *When Black Meets White;* and Charles Edward Russell's *Railroad Melons, Rates and Wages.*

THE DYER BILL

THE comment on the sidetracking of the Dyer Bill in the United States Senate is most illuminating and fills the editorial columns of papers North, South, East and West.

The New York *Call* comes to our rescue with some illuminating facts. Paul Hanna writes:

When there is a filibuster against any bill the champions of the bill begin their fight, always, by adopting a rule against adjournment until the measure is disposed of. That keeps the "calendar day" alive till the fight ends. And no member can speak more than twice on any bill in the same calendar day.

By allowing the Senate to adjourn every evening the false friends of the Negro gave the little band of lynch advocates time to catch their breath and come on the floor every day with two fresh whacks at the Dyer bill.

There was a majority in favor of the bill. But it was a majority only in the sense that more than half the members did not dare to vote against the measure. So they adopted the plan of allowing the few hard-boiled Negro-baiters to talk against the bill day after day, until the House had finished the subsidy bill and the Senate had an excuse to shelve the Dyer bill in order to discuss a bonus for the shipping magnates.

* * *

The New York *Outlook* true to its southern traditions is "not greatly concerned over the failure of the Anti-Lynching Bill to become a law." On the other hand, the more conscientious New York *World* which has opposed the bill, is compelled by the Florida mob, to acknowledge that:

Although the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill was probably unconstitutional and would not have accomplished what its political promoters pretended, many persons will insist that, in justice to the Negro, measures of protection must be taken by the Federal Government. If the law commands no respect and mob murder is universally approved where a Negro's life is at stake, how is Texas or any other Southern State to justify itself as a civilized Commonwealth? Certainly the demand for more outside interference and penalties will grow, not weaken, if outrages like this go unpunished.

* * *

The *World* also reports Senator Calder as declaring that "it is only a question of time before the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill is passed."

Some of the papers like the Rochester, New York *Times-Union*, are outspoken for the bill:

The Dyer bill has no sectional character. It is not directed, as the obstructionists seem to think, against the South. Lynchings have not been confined to that section. The measure is directed against a national evil.

The general opinion of the nation is probably in favor of vigorous action. It is deplorable that, under such circumstances, a minority should block, not only action, but even fair discussion. At least let the bill be discussed on its merits.

Others stress the political aspects. The New York *Telegraph* says:

It was buncombe. It was introduced as a sop to Negroes of the North who have some influence in politics, and it was debated with a view solely to campaign literature. In the next campaign the so-called sponsors of the measure will be able to tell Negro voters that the bill would have gone through if it had not been for the wicked Democrats. It may fool some of them. The record shows that Negroes holding the franchise are easily fooled.

* * *

And the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* adds:

It would be well for the managers of the party which espoused the measure only to surrender it, to consider well the possible consequences. For they may be very certain that the fight of the colored people of the United States, and of their warm sympathizers among the white people, will not be abandoned until something effective shall be done to check and finally abolish the lynching wrong.

* * * * * * * * * * *

The Middle West is not certain that the Dyer Bill was the best sort of Bill but it is certain that something should be done.

The Cincinnati, Ohio *Commercial-Tribune* says:

The Dyer bill may not be the last word in the wisdom of how to suppress lynching. It is a gesture in behalf of doing something in that direction. Just to talk the whole proposition to death indicates opposition to the principle. It looks like a movement merely bent on defeating any and all anti-murder manifestation. As such it is not the highest order of statesmanship.

* * *

And the Chicago *Tribune* compares the 18th Amendment and the Dyer Bill:

The South supports a federal amendment prohibiting the use of alcoholic beverages throughout the nation, regardless of state or local customs or convictions. The Southern senators favor the intervention of federal power to prevent a New York citizen from taking a glass of wine or a Milwaukeean a glass of beer. This is an invasion not merely of the right of private judgment, but of local self-government, local police power, local social conscience.

Why is it proper to call upon the central government to impose its authority upon private habit and local custom, but a danger to the fabric of our government for the central authority to protect life when the local government fails to protect it?

We think the states should have sole responsibility for their own social policy and public discipline. But if the central government is to assume such responsibility we cannot see that mob murder in Georgia or Illinois is an improper object of its restraint while the drinking of alcoholic beverages is a proper object.

On the Pacific Coast, the Portland, Oregon, *Oregonian*, says:

The lynching evil must be suppressed if the canker of lawlessness, already grave, is not to spread throughout the republic. Our government is in a poor position to reproach other nations for acts of barbarity while this evil prevails, for it furnishes them with a ready retort. The success of those who killed the Dyer bill is but temporary, for the question will continue to be raised until the law is supreme over the mob in every state.

* * *

The old reactionary bourbon spirit is voiced frankly by a certain Chester H. Rowell, a Southerner writing in the Los Angeles *Express*:

No bill exercising federal authority over any aspect of the race question can ever pass Congress except by overcoming by actual physical resistance the Southern senators. The Constitution, for instance, confers on Congress the power to make or alter regulations for the elections of senators and representatives, but no Congress will ever be permitted to exercise that constitutional authority.

Southern senators will filibuster against it absolutely without limit. They will trade votes to defeat it, on either side of any question, and they will obstruct its consideration by physical resistance, even to the extent of permanently stopping all the functions of government.

* * *

Other papers take refuge in imputing hypocrisy to the Republicans.

The whole thing was a "sham" says the Louisville *Post*. Most of the papers, however, look at the matter seriously. The Jacksonville, Fla., *Times-Union*, the Charleston, S. C., *Post*, the Houston *Post*, the Savannah *News* all agree that the spirit behind the Dyer Bill is not dead and unless the Southern States stop lynching, a Federal Law is sure to come.

The Rev. Ashby Jones says in the Atlanta *Constitution*:

The lynching bill was lynched—the force bill was destroyed by force. The Dyer bill died a violent death, and there have been no mourners among either Democrats or the Republicans.

The whole proceedings ran true to form. A mob assembled in the Senate chamber, and everybody knew it was forming, and knew just what they were going to do. The officers in charge of the proposed law made a slight pretense of defending their prisoner and then surrendered to the overwhelming numbers and force of a small minority. The prisoner was a great embarrassment, and the officers were truly delighted to have him forcibly taken from their charge and put to death.

And an interesting debate takes place in the Tampa, Florida *Morning Tribune*. The Editor says:

If the advocates of the Dyer bill would devote one-tenth the money, time, and determination they have put into the efforts to have this spectacular thing enacted, into a campaign to eradicate the cause for which lynching in the South is the remedy, there would be no need for such a bill anywhere; but so long as the "bad nigger"—and he is usually of "high color" and "high eddication"—is made to believe he will be able to do his devilment and be protected through a bill which will penalize a whole county that makes an example of him, just so long will lynchings be; and all the Dyer bills in all the files of all the advocates of such methods will not operate to save one single black rapist from the nearest tree or post when he lays foul hands on a white woman in the South.

If the courts will not punish promptly and effectively the black rapist, the people will, and this is no appeal for mob law either, but a simple statement of facts.

* * *

But a colored woman replies:

Mr. Editor, the Negroes of this community feel that the editorial referred to shows such a spirit of antagonism to Negro education and advancement as we are reluctant to characterize as the *Tribune's* real attitude. . . . The premium that white men put on their womanhood is worthy of the commendation of any people. Making criminals of hundreds of fathers of the future womanhood of their race who participated in mob murders is rather inconsistent, however. Please let us say further, Mr. Editor, that we do not know any case where educated Negroes have been lynched save in race riots like the ones in Arkansas and Oklahoma, where the bloodthirsty mob found pleasure in destroying the lives and property of the best Negro citizens as a means of humiliating the entire race. Nor do we understand what is meant by the Negro of "high color". Surely, the writer does not refer to mulattoes whose color proves the disregard our Southern white men have had for racial purity and the value of virtuous womanhood even among the Negroes, their humble loyal friends . . .

Yours for peace and civic righteousness.

BLANCHE ARMWOOD BEATTY.

* * *

Finally the San Antonio *Express* writes:

So the crape will continue to hang from practically all the constitutions—National and State. And we, the people of the United States, will go on with our perfect Union; in which "Justice" is established, domestic tranquility insured, the general welfare promoted, and the blessings of "liberty" secured to ourselves and our posterity.

The roastings at the stake and the riddling of lynched corpses with bullets will go on, too. Mob-murder will continue to grow fat on what it feeds upon and, as ever, utterly fail to achieve its—ofttimes falsely—declared object.

And we shall continue to thank God that we are not as other men are—even as the "unspeakable" Turk in Asia Minor, the "treacherous" Japanese in Korea, the German in Belgium, and the Belgian in the Congo; the British in Ireland and India, the French in Algeria, and the Polish and the Russian pogrom-butchers and thieves in their own lands.

Meanwhile, of course, the journalists and historians of all those brutal, unenlightened, far inferior countries will continue to record, for their own people's edification, the facts and opinions concerning our Twentieth Century American use of the chains, the fagots and the stake.

A GOOD NEGRO

MEANTIME in Florida and Texas the perfect fruit of lynching continues. But North Carolina has the most delicious case.

Says the Greensboro, N. C. *News:*

Sometime between midnight of December 6 and 1 o'clock of December 7 a citizen of Columbus county was aroused at his home in Chadburn and upon appearing at the door was confronted by a group of men wearing masks and robes, one of whom demanded that the householder come out into the yard. Several guns were pointed in his direction. He complied, and then asked:

"Now here I am. What do you want?"

"We will tell you when we take you down the road a piece," a voice replied.

. . . . . .

The man who was prisoner to the mob is L. E. Hall, Negro, teacher, expert farmer, in the employ of the state of North Carolina, and the United States. He is an agent in the co-operative extension work in agriculture and home economics. The head of this department is Dr. B. W. Kilgore, director of the agricultural extension service. Hall is the appointee of C. R. Hudson, state agent. These field agents receive their pay in part from the state treasury and in part from the national treasury.

At a bend in the road leading out of Chadbourn one of the men in the car with Hall suggested that he look back, and on doing so he counted the headlights of seven automobiles (a flour sack had been placed over the head of the prisoner; the lights were visible through it.) The captive was told there were three more cars ahead. Something was said about a whipping. It was evident that there must be about 40 men in the mob.

"Good land!" said the prisoner, "does it take all these men to whip one man?" "No," he was told, "we have brought along some for witnesses." After about three miles the procession stopped, and a whispered conversation amongst the masks took place. The prisoner was told that he would be asked

some questions before further procedure. The ensuing colloquy was something like this, according to Hall.

Q. Did you say that the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill would pass, and that for every Negro lynched the white people would have to pay $15,000?

A. No, I did not say that.

Q. Well, did you not say that if the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill did not pass that the Negroes would stop lynching by lynching a few white folks?

A. No, I never gave utterance to any such statement.

Q. What do you do around Chadbourn?

A. I don't do much of anything around Chadbourn.

Q. What kind of work do you do?

A. Extension work.

Q. Who employs you?

A. I am employed by the extension service, department of agriculture.

Q. What do you do?

A. Organize and work with Negro farmers throughout the state.

Questioner. That is just what we understand. You are organizing Negroes against whites throughout the state.

A. That is not so. My business is to assist farmers to do better farming and help them solve their farm problems.

Q. We did not come here to hear an agricultural lecture. Take him boys, and whip him some anyhow.

* * *

They whipped him severely. The *News* continues:

Hall is black, something between six feet and six-two in stature, powerfully built. He is an upstanding man, and carries himself with an air of unquestionably belonging on the earth. He says he has never harmed anybody in his life, has a conscience void of offense, and made up his mind from the first to take whatever was given him without resistance, as resistance of 40 by one—the 40 having arms, too—would be foolish.

. . . . . .

Hall has been a co-worker with Frissell, Booker Washington and Dr. Moton, and has been thoroughly imbued with the Booker Washington doctrine as to the place and duty of Negro citizenship—let politics alone, be clean, strive toward intelligence, be industrious, leave the social and political structure entirely in the hands of the white man. His identity with this group, the fact that he has been an employee of the state under the immediate supervision of Mr. Hudson, who appointed him, for eight years, and that the activities of these farm agents are open records, seem to preclude the possibility of Hall's being a racio-political propagandist.

* * *

The editor thereupon moralizes:

The Booker Washington doctrine of the respective duties and obligations of the races in Southern United States is a compromise accepted by a multitude of thoughtful and conscientious people of both races as offering the only tenable position, the only path of progress in racial peace and toward at least an approximate righteousness. It preserves to the white man his political dominance, and political dominance is a broad term. It aims to permit the Negro to keep a measure of self-respect, to live in peace, if he can enforce a strict racial discipline so that individual outbreaks of viciousness will not imperil entire groups, guilty and innocent alike; to insure to him the profit of his labor, the opportunity to become educated, to participate in numerous benefits of a white civilization if he will pay the price of that participation in a careful subordination and repression; an attitude of deference acknowledging the presence of a superior race, refusing to seek political control; hard terms, they might appear to a man from Mars, but terms by no means impossible since the Negro has been schooled in them for generation after generation.

An exponent of the Washington philosophy, the Washington creed, a servant of the state and national governments, a trained economist whose business is in a general way helping Negroes to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before, a man who has been close enough to Washington and the other men, Negroes and mixed breeds, who are the recognized racial leaders of that philosophy in application to have become thoroughly immersed in the spirit of it, was taken from his home at midnight recently by a mob of some 40 persons, wearing white robes and masks and insignia familiar as that of the Ku Klux Klan, and beaten with many stripes.

* * *

Mr. Hall does some moralizing too:

Hall says it is bad enough to be beaten, but the experience has left a question in his mind that is more serious. Washington preached, Moton exhorts, Newbold proclaims, that intelligence and industry and frugality will solve the race problem. "For 15 years since graduating from Hampton, there has not been a work day that I did not get pay for. Many nights and sometimes Sundays I have worked. I own the house in which I live, and eight lots adjoining it. My house is painted and has six rooms. I have a small farm. I have endeavored to mind my own business and meddle with no man's private life. If this is not the type of citizenship required of us, then what is required? If a man who 'tends to his own business is not safe with his family in a home that he has bought and paid for, then where can he be safe? These reflections are far sadder than the beating itself, because they seem to present a hopeless situation."

And on top of all that Senator Overman, himself accused of leading lynchers, assures the Senate that no law-abiding Negro ever is molested in the South!

Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Founded in 1868 by General Armstrong to train selected colored youth who should go out to teach and lead their people. In 1878 Indians were first admitted.

Hampton stands for "a sound body, a trained capacity, and an unselfish outlook on life."

Hampton is an industrial village: 1,100 acres; 140 buildings; 850 boarding students, 500 day pupils in practice-school; 600 summer-school students; 200 teachers and workers.

Hampton has over 2,000 graduates and 1,000 former students; also numerous outgrowths, including Tuskegee, founded by Booker T. Washington.

Hampton offers courses in four schools of normal and collegiate grade—Agricultural, Business, Home-Economics, Normal—and in two schools of secondary grade—Academy and Trade (11 four-year courses).

Hampton needs annual scholarships at $100 each and endowed scholarships at $2,500 each; also $135,000 annually above regular income.

JAMES E. GREGG, Principal
FRANK K. ROGERS, Treasurer

1882 LANE COLLEGE 1922
Jackson, Tennessee

A growing College with a splendid history and a bright future. It offers modern courses in Collegiate, Theological, Musical, College Preparatory, Teachers Training, Home Economics, Agricultural and Pre-Medical subjects. Several vocational courses are also taught.

Proper standards of conduct as well as scholarship are maintained. Registrations of students are now being made for the next session. Well equipped laboratories, dormitories with modern conveniences and facilities under positive Christian influences are supported. For further information address

J. F. LANE, President, Jackson, Tennessee.

St. Philip's Normal & Industrial School
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